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he specifically mentions him but once, he evidently had read his works exhaustively, as numerous correspondences amply prove. Milton's identification of the pagan gods with the rebel angels, to mention but a single example he owed to St. Augustine who in the *De Civitate Dei* (Lib. VI and VII) argues at length for such an identification.<sup>6</sup> Tho Milton nowhere mentions the *History of Animals*, he mentions Aristotle six times in his prose writings, and in terms that imply a careful reading. Of these references five are to the political treatises, while the other is to Aristotle's work on the general principles of natural science (*Physica Auscultatio*, Lib. VIII, Cap. I).

While denying the Scriptural authority for Milton's identification of the serpent of "the Fall" with Satan, and for the serpent's attitude as described in the epic, we must admit that neither is unprecedented nor without a venerable antiquity.<sup>7</sup>

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#### NOTES ON THOMAS DELONEY

A curious error in Mr. F. O. Mann's valuable edition of the *Works of Thomas Deloney* (Oxford, 1912) has not, I think, been noted. On page vii Mr. Mann remarks that Deloney "appears to have drifted into literature from the more substantial occupation of silk-weaving, and his novels show the most intimate acquaintance with London life, but Nash's epithet 'the Balletting Silke Weauer of Norwich' seems to point to that town as the place of his birth, and it is significant that one of his earliest ballads—*The Lamentation of Beckles* (1586)—was printed 'for Nicholas Coleman of Norwich.'" He refers to *Have With You to Saffron Walden*, in R. B. McKerrow's edition of Nashe's *Works* (III, 84); and on a later page (xii) gives what purports to be Nashe's words: "Thomas Deloney, the Balletting Silke-Weauer, of Norwich, hath rime inough for all myracles."

As a matter of fact the quotation should read, "Thomas Deloney, the Balletting Silke-weauer, hath rime inough for all myracles." Nashe nowhere says that Deloney was from Norwich. Mr. Mann

<sup>6</sup> The idea is really much older than St. Augustine. Justin Martyr makes a similar assertion in his *First Apology for the Christians* (Chap. v). Its last appearance in a theological treatise is in Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* (Bk. I, Chap. 4). "These wicked spirits," says Hooker, "the heathen honoured instead of gods, both generally under the name of Dii Inferi, gods infernal; and particularly, some in oracles, some in idols. . . ."

<sup>7</sup> I must beg leave to refer to the manner in which one of the earliest scholars of England handles the tradition here discussed. Alcuin's words may be read in Elfric's translation of the *Interrogationes Sigewulfi Presbyteri in Gensin*, *Anglia* VII, 24-26; Alfred Tessmann's dissertation (1891), p. 30.

seems inadvertently to have followed J. W. Ebsworth, who in his *Dictionary of National Biography* sketch of Deloney declares that in *Have With You* Nashe wrote: "Thomas Deloney, the balleting silke-weaver of Norwich, hath rime inough for all myracles." This statement was also repeated by Richard Sievers (*Thomas Deloney*, Palaestra, xxxvi, 1) and was evidently accepted as true by Professor Lange (*Gentle Craft*, Palaestra, xviii, viii-ix).

The argument Mr. Mann builds on this misquotation for Deloney's residence at Norwich and for his Flemish or Walloon ancestry is, it would appear, untenable. There is little significance in the fact that Deloney's *Lamentation of Beckles* was printed for Nicholas Coleman of Norwich. Another ballad with almost exactly the same title as Deloney's and with exactly the same colophon ("At London: Imprinted by Robert Robinson, for Nicholas Coleman of Norwich, dwelling in S. Andrewes Church Yarde") was written by D. Sterrie, and is still preserved in the British Museum.<sup>1</sup> Coleman himself licensed one of these ballads—it is impossible to tell which—at Stationers' Hall;<sup>2</sup> and without doubt had simply commissioned Deloney and Sterrie to write them. All the evidence goes to show that in 1586 and for a number of years after, the ten or eleven stationers outside of London did not print ballads but merely sold those furnished to them by London printers. It would have been quite natural for a Norwich printer to order a ballad on a subject that he wanted exploited from a prominent London balladist like Deloney.

J. H. Dixon, editing the *Garland of Good Will* (Percy Society, xxx, vi) wrote: "The elegant and classic Drayton, in an allusion to [Deloney's] 'rhyme,' designates it 'full of state and pleasing.'" Ebsworth repeats this (*D. N. B.*). Neither supports the statement with a reference, but after much searching one will find in *The Legend of Matilda*<sup>3</sup> this passage:

Bright *Rosamond* so highly that is graced,  
Inroled in the register of fame,  
That in our sained kalender is placed,  
By him who striues to stellifie her name;  
Yet will the modest say she was too blame,  
Though full of state and pleasing be his rime,  
Yet can his skill not expiate her crime.

This cannot possibly refer to Deloney. Few persons—certainly no poet—would call Deloney's ballad of *Rosamond* either full of state or pleasing; and Drayton held ballads in especial abomination. Sufficient proof of that is his slur at Elderton, a far more famous ballad-writer than Deloney, in his epistle "To Henery Reynolds."<sup>4</sup> Drayton was undoubtedly referring either to the treatment of *Rosamond* in Warner's *Albion's England* or, more probably, in Daniel's *Complaint of Rosamond*.

<sup>1</sup> It is reprinted in Lilly's *Collection of 79 Ballads*, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> On December 13, 1586 (Arber's *Transcript*, II, 461).

<sup>3</sup> *Poems*, 1605, Spenser Society ed., Pt. II, p. 447.

<sup>4</sup> *Minor Poems*, ed. C. Brett, Oxford, 1907, p. 109.

In Bishop Hall's *Satires* <sup>5</sup> occurs a passage ridiculing a "drunken rimer" who

sends forth thraues of Ballads to the sale.  
Nor then can rest: but volumes vp bodg'd rimes,  
To haue his name talk't of in future times,

which has been interpreted by Warton, Ritson, Collier, Grosart, and everybody else who has commented on the passage as an allusion to Elderton. Elderton, however, while notoriously a drunkard, volumed up no rimes, whether bodged or not. On the other hand, Deloney's *Garland of Good Will* seems to have been published in 1592/3,<sup>6</sup> and was certainly well known in 1596, the time at which Hall was probably writing. Accordingly, if Hall had any definite balladist in mind, it was Deloney. Elderton, furthermore, had died in or before 1592.

As allusions to Deloney are extremely hard to find, it seems worth while to add that the *Garland of Good Will* is slightly referred to in R. B.'s *Whimzies* (1631)<sup>7</sup> and that the following interesting notice of the *Gentle Craft* was printed among Sir John Harington's *Epigrams*:<sup>8</sup>

11 *Of a Booke called the Gentle Craft.*  
I Past this other day throw Pauls Church-yard,  
I heard some reade a booke, and reading laught.  
The title of the booke was Gentle Craft.  
But when I markt the matter with regard,  
A nevv-sprung branch that in my mind did graft,  
And thus I said, Sirs, scorne not him that writ it:  
A gilded blade hath oft a dudgen haft,  
And well I see, this Writer roues a shaft  
Neere fairest marke, yet happily not hit it,  
For neuer was the like booke sold in Poules,  
If so with Gentle Craft it could perswade  
Great Princes midst their pompe to learne a trade,  
Once in their liues to worke, to mend their soules.

The *Gentle Craft* was licensed for publication on October 19, 1597,<sup>9</sup> and Harington's verses have some importance as helping to establish the date at which he wrote the *Epigrams*. Deloney did not live to read and be flattered by this notice from a genteel writer; nor has the connection of the passage with his novel been pointed out before.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Bk. iv, Sat. 6 (*Poems*, ed. A. B. Grosart, p. 131).

<sup>6</sup> Arber's *Transcript*, II, 627 (March 5, 1592/3).

<sup>7</sup> No. 2, "A Ballad-Monger."

<sup>8</sup> Bk. iv, No. 11 (1633 ed., added to his *Orlando Furioso*, 1634, sig. R r 4).

<sup>9</sup> Arber's *Transcript*, III, 93.

<sup>10</sup> Since these notes were written, the collection of essays published by the Oxford University Press as *Shakespeare's England* has appeared. I note that Professor C. H. Firth, in his essay on "Ballads and Broad-sides" (II, 512, 513), makes these statements about Deloney: "Nashe terms him 'the ballading silkweaver of Norwich,'" "Drayton found his style 'full of state and pleasing' " !